





other State knock, and knock again, until they are tired, unless they do as Maryland has done—unless there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in it except for crime, and unless they have given the colored people the right thing that will protect them—the government will support him in all respects. Is it not time that some one was bestowing some of this benevolent advice or menace on the free whites of the South? So far as experience goes, they are the class that expect to live without work, and to be supported by the labor of others, and we think an account would show that the Southern whites have expected and received much more support from the government than the blacks. Why is it that the only class in the South that the government has found willing to labor, receives all the exhortations and warnings to labor, while the class that always lived by the labor of others is omitted as if it had no lesson of self-support to learn?

## THE FORCE OF THE LABOR DESTINY.

From the Cincinnati (O) Gazette, June 7.

The freed negro has had bountiful notices from all sorts of government officials and from philanthropic speakers that he must understand that although he is free he must work, and must not expect that the government will support him in idleness. Is it not time that some one was bestowing some of this benevolent advice or menace on the free whites of the South? So far as experience goes, they are the class that expect to live without work, and to be supported by the labor of others, and we think an account would show that the Southern whites have expected and received much more support from the government than the blacks. Why is it that the only class in the South that the government has found willing to labor, receives all the exhortations and warnings to labor, while the class that always lived by the labor of others is omitted as if it had no lesson of self-support to learn?

Is there not in all this an idea that the whites expect the former relation to continue under a different name? The owners of the landholders of the South, as we gather it from the Southern journals, that have been resurrected or started anew, under a shallow pretense of accepting existing facts, exhibits no disposition to accommodate themselves to existing conditions; but on the contrary, they show a determination to exclude the blacks from opportunities to labor, in order to demonstrate that competition is a failure. For this many are selling their hands in uncontrived, while the blacks are the freed blacks is the principal theme of these journals.

But the design trips itself, for not content with showing that the freed negroes will not work, these statements also tell that many of them are begging for work at wages much less than the cost of their subsistence in slavery. This is in order to show how much worse the condition of the blacks is now. We have seen in the same article charges that the blacks were idle, and statements that one offered to work for \$13 a year, and another for his board; and as even blacks are too smart to beg for work without wages when wages are offered, we conclude that these are samples of the wages their former masters offered.

We do not expect that the relation of slavery can be overthrown without a disturbance of labor. Slavery is a poor training for freedom. Even the emancipated Israelites had to be kept in the wilderness until all the old stock died. But in this case the chief difficulty grows out of the fact of a master class holding the lands—the only means of subsistence—accustomed to live by the unpaid labor of the negroes, and still determined to do it, if their lands go unutilized until the negroes shall be reduced to their terms. The Southern planters are by no means convinced that slavery is abolished. They look upon it as still an open question, and are fighting it with all the savage spirit that belongs to slavery.

## National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.  
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1865.

### THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

In the Period of Panoramas a few years ago, an artist painted the views of a voyage on the Mississippi river. In his exhibitions he told this story:

He was drifting one night by moonlight not far from the shore, when he passed a house, so near, as that he could hear the music and see the dancing of a merry-making. Not long after, he came to another, almost exactly like the first. He thought little about it, but very soon he was surprised at finding himself passing a third, of similar character. This awakened his attention, and he discovered that he was sweeping round in one of those mysterious whirlpools sometimes found, and only by energetic exertion was he saved from being swallowed in the miniature Maelstrom.

From the high bluffs of a moral outlook, the political and religious Press of the country presents a view very similar to that circling navigator in his moonshine. Both appear to sail without chart, compass or object, unless for the sake of the sailing, as they seem to have no port or haven in view.

If they are pointed to the great polar star of principle, they answer much as did the old slave Mopsy, in Mr. Olmsted's "Atlantic Seaboard States." Left one night in charge of the craft of which he was the master, he contemplated the entire crew, he was told to keep her running exactly toward the North star, then in full view. The skipper then turned in to take a nap. Soon after, the wind changed, and while Mopsy was busy filling and lighting his pipe, the boat swung round and put off South, before a stiff breeze, and when the captain awoke he found himself back to the point left him before. "What have you been about, you black rascal," he roared out to old Mopsy. "Didn't I tell you to keep her heading straight to the North star?" "O yes, massa, but den de lord a'mighty you do' know how she run—we passed by de North star, two hours ago."

Such, largely, is newspaper navigation in our country to-day. It has reference to no principle; respect for no law of eternal right.

In peace the religious press bears the greatest sway. In war the political. In war, the former takes refuge in the latter, like women and children in a garison, in India, or border alarms. But under the influence of both, we drift round and round, as interest, caprice or passion impels us.

And so a new journal, like a new sect, becomes a necessity, if a divine man, or a new truth, is let loose in the world.

Almost a hundred years ago, we launched our ship of state, full rigged for a brave race with the nations. Our chart was the Declaration of Independence—"All men created equal," was inscribed on every banner.

True, we had five hundred thousand slaves; but then we regarded them as only so many cranes, indicted or entailed by Great Britain, to be soon swept out of existence as slaves, and born into new life as men, by the genius of the new dispensation. Slavery, however, soon became a source of profit, as was believed, and it became both the "peculiar" and most cherished institution. The Declaration of Independence was postponed or repealed in its behalf. The Constitution was interpreted into its service and security; and the Bible, Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha, was declared by almost the whole American Church to contain God's curse upon Cain, Canaan, or some black offender, ante or poste delictum, whose sins sentenced him and his posterity to slavery, forever and ever, and constituted his pale brothers executors of the Divine displeasure!

And so our new land of promise, our "Paradise Regained," our Eden "restored from the ruins of the Fall"; became at once a lake of fire and brimstone to Ethiopian sinners, where they must weep and wail and gnash their teeth.

For broken laws,  
Five thousand years fore their creation  
Through Canaan's curse!

We heaved our way out of British tyranny with the sword. That done, we exchanged the sword for the sceptre and insignia of slaveholders, to become worse tyrants and despots than the earth then bore on her bosom, or has borne since. From half a million victims we multiplied the number seven fold. We extended the slave territory in similar proportion by fraud, falsehood, robbery and war, and greatly augmented the horrors of the system. We enacted Fugitive Slave laws, at which Nero should have shuddered, and executed them with the point of the bayonet, at the base of Bunker Hill, and in the very shadow of Panoli Hall.

We stripped from the negro the right of suffrage in almost every State. For, be it known, fifty years ago, the free colored man enjoyed that sacred right, in nearly every State of the Union.

Thus recklessly we dashed along over almost a hundred fourths of July, as though God had no ear for the cries of the enslaved, or thunderbolts for their deliverance, until infinite patience would endure no more. The last event of the last four years before the rest. In all this time, liberty or the Press has been largely enjoyed in the North, political, moral, literary and religious, for what purpose? It has been the plac-

of cloud by day and of fire by night. It has conducted us round and round, ignis fatuus like, from the Declaration of Independence to the Dred Scott decision, which unblushingly indicated, that Africa had no rights which America, boasted land of Equal Liberty, was bound to respect; and onward still in crime and cruelty have we followed it, until we dashed ourselves against the frowning rocks of that righteous indignation, at which, long ago, Jefferson and many good men trembled.

And now we enter on a new career. We seal the dread volume of the past with the blood of half a million brave men, and open a new dispensation. To rebuild the ruins, is the work of the present hour. Some there are who would dig deep and lay our foundations on that rock of eternal justice, which underpins the moral universe. One voice, at least, is heard, demanding that negro suffrage be enacted as a measure of policy as well as of principle. He believes that the only way to secure lasting Peace to the country in the general, was to adopt that measure; and to avoid being led down with the Confederate Debt in special, we must surely retain the supremacy in the hands of the present Administration, and not allow it to be overborne by a return to power of Southern rebels, and their more desperate and dangerous allies at the North. In such an emergency, he declares he would have the rebel debt repudiated, at whatever cost.

An enemy tortures the telegraph into a lying report of the address, and forthwith the whole Press, religious, political and literary, with a very few honorable exceptions, howls with indignant horror, that the cry of *Repudiation* of the National Debt, has been raised in a quarter too influential to be overlooked!

In a few days, however, the falsehood was exposed and the truth appears.

But the Press now makes no haste. Slowly, if at all, it repudiates the slanderous reports, for which it is so ready to believe. The *Evening Post*, true to its noble self, raised up a party in the column.

But the course of the *Tribune* seems most inexplicable of all. It not only doubts the correctness of the report, but it absolutely begins to prepare the North for the assumption and payment of that very Confederate Debt! It says:

"But let us accept, for the moment, the authorized version of Mr. Phillips' threat, and still we hold it most objectionable and immoral. We hold that a Public Debt can only be invalidated by the solemn judgment of a competent judicial tribunal that has assumed or incurred without due authority."

"The war on Mexico for example, was, in our view, a most unjust and wholly unnecessary war—one that should not have been commenced and need not have been prosecuted. We opposed that war to the utmost limit of our constitutional right, yet we never threatened to repudiate the debt incurred by it, nor to refuse to pay taxes levied to support it. So of the Ten Millions to Texas. So the Federalists, who abhorred the last war with Great Britain, never questioned the validity and obligation of the debt incurred in its prosecution."

The *Tribune* admits the possibility at least of an assumption of the Rebel Debt, says it would naturally be inextricably mixed up with other debts, and then asks, how would you set about repudiating it? would you also repudiate these? "Could you tell what to repudiate?"

Precisely by this mode of reasoning was the war with Mexico induced. At first, the annexation of Texas was opposed by the Whig party of the North, nearly to a man. Twenty members of Congress, the venerable John Quincy Adams at their head, issued a manifesto "To the People of the North," in which they declare "that annexation effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal government, or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution." And they farther said that such an attempt "to eternize an institution and power of nature, so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests, and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the free States, in our opinion, would not only inevitably result in a dissolution of the Union, but would fully justify it!" And we not only assert that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say with confidence, they would not submit to it."

And so, for a time, said the entire North. And yet that Whig party accepted the measure of annexation, of course, under protest. Then came the Mexican massacre, dignified with the name of war, but disgracing the word war, forever more. The war, was, as we say, a most unjust and wholly unnecessary war, but, however, so much under protest, but that it furnished the party in its hero, with a President; one, too, whose only possible or conceivable claim to the office was won in the murderous war with Mexico, against which the party so protested, and the blood-hound hunt and butchery of the Seminole Indians a few years before, who had become obnoxious to Georgia slaveholders, by giving refuge and asylum to their fugitive slaves.

Such a man was fit President for such a party; and it also to furnish that wife to the Confederate President who hoped in her circumnavigability of crinoline to hide her diminutive husband from the eagle eye of Col. Pritchard's scouts, and the wrath of an outraged nation. Fit also to be head of the Administration that gave us the Compromise measures, as they were called, including in its catalogue of crime the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, repealed not till the third year of the war just closed. Only a party so demoralized by first listening to wrong, then tampering with, then consenting, then embracing, would or could have closed a career so infamous, by paying the debts of Texas after its most adulterous marriage with such a harlot. Surely the *Tribune* is right in repudiating all repudiation, after that.

Three years before the nomination of Gen. Taylor, had it been told the Whig party what it would do in that lapse of time, it would indignantly have answered, "Is thy servant a dog that it should do such things?" But dog or not dog, it did them.

And the quotations above are but the beginnings of a tampering with justice, that may end, mortal man knows not where! The descent to hell is as easy now as two thousand years ago.

The *Tribune* first gives currency to a false report. Then it refuses honorably to retract it. Then, naturally enough, but most ominously, it enters on an argument to show how, after all, we may find it necessary to pay even the Confederate debt.

The rebellious spirits at the South, conquered, but not converted, may well take heart, as they surely do. Ironclad serfdom they may yet establish on the ruins of slavery, with the full consent of the North, and with all the constitutional protections against "domestic violence," still in force. And all their debts too may be provided for, as cheerfully as was the ten million gratuity to Texas.

The scheme of annexing Texas had burned in Southern hearts for years, before any such rays of hope as these had reached them from the North.

Let the Press, generally, pursue its present course, and the doom of this nation is sealed forever. Reconstruction on the basis of white suffrage, largely as disloyal as ten years ago, will be enacted; the Democratic party of that period will return to power, ten-fold more the child of hell than ever; and then, God save the country, if the Infinite economy can be extended so far.

OUR OUTSIDE ARTICLES.—It is hoped the length of some of them to-day will not prevent a careful reading. Those on Suffrage are from two of the ablest minds of this or any other country, and from their reasonings and conclusions—statesmanlike, wholly unmixing with any partisanship—there seems no ground of dissent.

Sermons at long length will not often appear in the *STANDARD*; they are too long for proper and profitable newspaper reading, even though proportionately broad and high. Abstracts are far preferable, and more certain to be read.

Dr. Cheever disappeared from the *STANDARD*, three or four years ago; but meantime, the country has shaken at his thunders, from the Church of the Puritans to Washington, and across the valley of the Mississippi. His Fast Day Sermon on our last page, will stir the blood and spirits of whoever shall read it. Its argument is irresistible. For its theology, he alone is responsible. He appeals to the conscience and the soul, belong alike to the whole empire of conscience and soul.

TURKISH BATHS.—At 13 Light st. has been opened a new fountain of cleanliness and healing. So much is true at least. But visitors will not realize all the enjoyments, or immediate effects of the Turkish Bath, so vanishingly portrayed by oriental travellers. Still, to those who can afford it, this approximation will prove doubtless a solid benefit, and may save large bills of the doctor's and druggist. For a cleanly, healthy skin, is among the best preservatives of every form of disease.

## BREAKERS AHEAD.

This book of wisdom tells us that the "watchman, when inquired of by an impatient waiter whether the morn was near, answered—"The morning cometh, and also the night." Is it to be so with us? Is another long, dark night of bondage to Southern ideas to follow the morning of freedom that has lately dawned upon us? No question can be more important for us to ponder carefully, and to answer rightly.

The expressions of feeling and purpose which the press brings to us from individuals in every Southern State, and the action of important bodies in Tennessee and Virginia, echo and enforce the voice of reason in us. Was it not plain already that men so able and unscrupulous as the leaders of Southern society would, when defeated in arms, resort to stratagem, and thus save what could be saved of their influence in their several States, and in the nation at large? Already meetings have been held (like the one at Memphis spoken of in the *STANDARD* two weeks ago) of leading Southern men who intend still to be leaders, intend still to use the mass of the people as movable furniture, and propose to take them back into the Union, as they formerly took them out of it. Already we hear of "distinguished citizens" of this or that Rebel State being in Washington to confer with the President in regard to reconstruction. It is plain that we are to have now a long series of such impudent demands as Lee made upon Grant, and Johnston upon Sherman, before the surrender of their armies. People who have committed the crime of treason complicated with every conceivable aggravation, people who were perjurers and thieves before they were open traitors, and who have since been wholesale and retail dealers in murder, public and private, of every kind and degree, now come before us with the coolest assurance, playing still the part of leaders, and demanding, as such, to be treated with "distinguished consideration."

This is all wrong. We want no "distinguished citizens" who have continued to live in Rebel States through the whole course of the rebellion. The parties we need to negotiate with in the South are that mass of the population in each State which has been without individual distinction, which found itself in rebellion because it was taken there by the authorities which had always held it under control, and which will find the rule of the United States easy and blessed when compared with that of the "lords of the lash." The best course for every "gentleman of distinction" in the Southern States (next after making public confession of his guilt and giving himself up for punishment) is to sink into the profoundest obscurity, learn some method of making an honest living, and make no attempt again to lead those whom he has so grossly and so disastrously misled in the quarter of a century last past. Their distinction is their condemnation. To be suffered to live in the country in the most private manner, without imprisonment, would be great indulgence to them. Will they unblushingly demand citizenship, and even leadership, after the infamous perversion of both these functions of which they have been guilty? They do both these things, in every Rebel State, with the public declaration that they have been fighting in a just and honorable cause, and that they have done nothing to be ashamed of, ought to be sufficient for our warning. At least, the action of official functionaries in Virginia and Tennessee, upholding the ideas upon which the rebellion was founded, and opposing any sound method of reconstruction, ought to be recognized as fair warning of the danger impending over us.

The words of the murdered Lincoln (in his second inaugural address) ought to be our warning. He allows that it will be no more than our merited retribution if our punishment "continue until all the wealth and power of nature, so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests, and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the free States, in our opinion, would not only inevitably result in a dissolution of the Union, but would fully justify it!" And we not only assert that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say with confidence, they would not submit to it."

The story of Egypt's sin and punishment should be our warning. The lesson which history affords from the pages of history is here compressed into a few lines. Egypt was a nation of slaves, and was punished by the Lord for her sin. The lesson which history affords from the pages of history is here compressed into a few lines. Egypt was a nation of slaves, and was punished by the Lord for her sin. The lesson which history affords from the pages of history is here compressed into a few lines. Egypt was a nation of slaves, and was punished by the Lord for her sin.

To do justice, to execute righteousness in regard to our down-trodden colored population, to begin to live by the rule which, for eighty-nine years, we have made a false pretence of living by this—is all that can save us. And an indispensable element of this course is to keep all power out of the hands which have been accustomed to use it against the negro; but above all, we should keep power out of the hands of those who declare their continued opposition to the negro; men, for instance, like the delegation from Georgia who (the *Tribune* of Saturday says) had an interview with the President at Washington that very day. They announced their entire willingness to accept the abolition of slavery, and to return to the Union, but they were "unanimously opposed to negro suffrage, and in favor of magnanimity." They are said to have been "highly gratified" at their interview with the President.

The same *Tribune* contains a letter from Augustin L. Taveau, a citizen of Charleston, S. C., who is also in favor of magnanimity. He reasons the matter to the extent of a column and a half of fine print, talking not only calmly about the past and the future, but in a spirit which the *Tribune* heartily admires, believing that it will be met by a kindred exhibition of generous manliness on the part of the North. The *Tribune* begs that Mr. Taveau and his fellow-planters will deal justly and kindly by the blacks who were lately their slaves, "and lead them on through fairly rewarded industry and systematic education to enlarged usefulness, competence, and fitness for all the duties of man and citizen." But Mr. Taveau's letter makes it plain that he proposes nothing of this sort. What he does propose is the very thing which we wish to present to our readers as the most dangerous element of the present crisis.

He first claims for the North "magnanimity," by which he means an utter ignoring on their part of any guilt or dishonor in the conduct of the South, and an extension to its leaders of "the right hand of fellowship." He makes no specific reference to such trifles as the perjury, treachery, and theft, which prepared the way for the rebellion, nor to the piracies, murders, and outrages of every atrocious sort that accompanied it. So much does he seem to take it for granted that these were appropriate means to a good end, and so little does he conceive the applicability of moral considerations to our late contest, that he seriously asks, in regard to the North—"Ought he not rather to be proud of the bravery shown by her natural allies?" He hopes that the North will not, by any deficiency in the sort of magnanimity above described, "compel the South to withdraw that hearty approval which she gave to Gen. Lee's surrender." Could impudence go further? Wait, reader, before deciding, until you have read the next item.

In regard to slavery, this is his idea. That once victorious and formidable question is now, he trusts, forever buried, Providence having seen fit to interpose, and raise up John Quincy Adams to destroy it. That was his mission. "And," Saint Augustine proceeded to say—"as Christian men, we must accept it in this light, and like Job, who after the loss of oxen and asses, flock and slaves, refused to curse God, say 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

Calm and reasonable himself, Mr. Taveau begs his fellow Southerners not to blame the negro for taking liberty when given him by the U. S. army. "He was well fed in his cage, but he prefers the privilege of selecting his own food; let him go," says Mr. Taveau; and he proceeds piously to suggest—"As an all-wise God directs our affairs, perhaps it may prove that the mission of the Negro, in this country is over, and that he was only sent here as a pioneer to clear up the wilderness for his successor, the white man; perhaps he has performed his mission, and may possibly, like the Indian, gradually disappear from his present localities."

Does he propose, then, that the Chivalry shall earn their own living? Not at all. Here is wherewithal to that gap. An immense number of foreign immigrants are to "listen to the hymn of the Free South," and flock thither to be hired by the ex-slaveholders, who are still to retain their broad lands. (Don't you see?) And now notice this Southern picture of the future of the Southern gentleman. He will first hire the immigrant, "and gradually instruct him in his new task;" and then, finally, divide the old plantation into farms, and farm them out to worthy (white) tenants. Freed from the care of driving negroes, he will then, for the first time, realize the true ease and comforts of a country life; and, giving more of his time to the cultivation of his mind, he will be better fitted for the management of the affairs of State.

The slaveholding class are still to be the ruling class, according to Mr. Taveau. vast numbers in the country share this idea, and will bend all their energies to realize it. The first steps are now taking in many of the Rebel States which are designed to lead to this consummation. This effort should find an equal vigor and a fearless activity of opposition among all lovers of freedom. If the President should favor this Southern movement to the extent which rumor reports, all that we can say and do may prove too little to gain the one great security for future safety—Suffrage for the negro in advance of reconstruction.

## WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

Sunday journals doubt the accuracy of the report of Wendell Phillips's speech which we printed last week, but there is no room for doubt. The controverted portion of that speech—everything concerning repudiation—was printed from Mr. Phillips's manuscript; and in relation to it he says in a private note, from which we take the liberty to copy—

"I sent you exactly, word for word, what I did say, having fully prepared it beforehand, and repeating it in the same terms in the afternoon of the same day."

We reprint the passage:

I look on reconstruction based on white suffrage as but another name for the assumption by the nation of the Confederate debt. The two things are parts of the same whole. No man acquainted with the present mood of the white race at the South believes that its representatives in Congress will ever vote to pay our present debt or its interest, unless theirs is included. That is one feature of reconstruction on a white basis. We are to plunge into that gulf of war debt which now threatens to swallow up the European nations. Much of our war debt was fraudulently imposed on a people unable either to resist or protest, and, in my opinion, whenever the masses there obtain their rights, they will properly and justly repudiate much of those debts.

Any imposition upon us of that Confederate debt, carried by means of white suffrage reconstruction, will be a fraud upon the people. Mr. Sumner's resolves, adopted by Congress, have attempted a barrier: an insufficient one, I fear, if this plan of reconstruction on a white basis is adopted. For myself I protest in advance against both parts of this one measure, white rebel suffrage and the assumption of rebel debts, as fraud on the people. Fraud violates all contracts. A man or a minority may be bound by national acts to which they silently submit; but not by those against whose validity they protest at the time. I, for one, here avow my purpose to be bound by no such fraud, however covered up. I shall, life-long, advocate repudiation of any rebel debt adopted by any such reconstructed Congress. I shall hold myself at liberty to cooperate with any party which puts on its banner, "REPUBLICANISM OF ALL REBEL DEBTS," no matter how sacredly such a bastard Congress may have assumed them. I invite others to join me in this avowal, till it swells to a national protest, and becomes fair and sufficient warning to all creditors.

We take the following item from the New Orleans *Tribune* of May 21, 1865:

*Abolition of the Government of Louisiana.*—Hon. Louis Rost, having been elected, has claimed exemption from military service, and has taken up arms for the Government of Louisiana! It is the duty of the Government or the Confederacy that has "reconstructed" Louisiana?

ABOUT PAYING THE REBEL WAR DEBT.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "We cannot see how the rebel war debt could be assumed by the government without demoralizing all the obligations of the people either to pay the debt or to support a government which would thus put fidelity and treason on a par, and would lay down the same obligation to pay the debt incurred in a war to destroy the Republic, as one incurred in a war for its defence. Wendell Phillips expressed this, and his determination upon such a contingency, and he has been assailed for it by the press of both parties. The Republican papers probably labored under a misapprehension of what he did say. They will probably make haste to relieve themselves of any implication that they would countenance the assumption of the rebel war debt, by retracting their denunciation. The Democratic journals, with whose tones they were in such complete accord, will see no necessity for any correction, for they would go first for assuming the rebel war debt, and then for repudiating both."

We have received the original lists of subscriptions at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, and print a portion of them herewith. But the papers as forwarded to us were in such condition that it was wholly impossible to decipher all the names. Those, therefore, who find their subscriptions omitted, are requested to forward names and amount for subsequent insertion.

## REV. DR. MASSIE.

As we go to press, we are greeted and gladdened by a call from the distinguished divine, and well-known friend and champion of impartial freedom, civil and religious, Rev. Dr. Massie of London, just arrived in this country. He will be well remembered by multitudes of the people East, West, and North, who had the pleasure of seeing and hearing him, when on a visit of a public, religious, and benevolent character, two years ago. To such he needs no introduction; and from such he will not fail of cordial greeting and earnest cooperation in the work of his mission. Dr. Massie brings the following certificate signed by the officers of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, which unfolds one of the principal objects of his present visit.

LONDON, May 29th, 1865.  
Dr. JAMES W. MASSIE, an esteemed member of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, has informed us of his intention to visit the camps of the Freedmen, in the valley of the Mississippi and in Tennessee, during the prosecution of a projected journey in the United States of America. We commend him to the kind notice and assistance of the various Freedmen's Commissions in America, where his lot may be cast. We believe his heart is deeply engaged for the Religious, Moral, and Physical well-being of the colored inhabitants of this land; and we ardently desire that his aid and our labors for the good of others may be blessed by God and redound to his glory and praise.

T. POWELL DUKTON, Chairman.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, Treasurer.  
WM. ALLEN, Sub-Treasurer.  
STANFORD AILEY, Member of Committee.  
FRED. TOMKINS, Hon. Secretary.

## CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society was held in Worcester, as by appointment, Wednesday evening the 31st ult., at the Summer St. Chapel. A letter was presented, tendering his resignation as President, from Rev. J. C. Webster, late of Hopkinton, now removed to Wheaton College, Ill. The resignation was not accepted, and the old board of officers was reelected, with the substitution of two new names from this city on the Executive Committee. The following resolutions, submitted by the Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, were discussed and adopted.

1. Resolved, That at this the seventh annual meeting of a Society designed to be the exponent of the Christian Church in regard to the sin of American slavery and the care of its victims, we naturally turn to the origin with a Convention of Christian Brethren in this city of Worcester, united in a deep conviction of the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and that the Churches of Christ in our land, of every denomination, should be arrayed against it as the organic and avowed iniquity of the nation, in order that the "Word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified," and in order that the nation itself shall not be the terrible

cancer which has already made such an inroad upon its constitution."

2. That we humbly bow to the sovereignty of the Supreme Ruler, who has not chosen the peaceful agency of His people, but the scourge of a wasteful civil war, to bring an end to a system of evil, and to establish in its place a more equitable and just government, which might be a power or power, but a TOTAL EXTINCTION.

3. That while we deem the foul system of American slavery as virtually ended, our duty as a Society is by no means done, and we therefore earnestly urge that the War be ended from all State Constitutions and Statutes of legislation, nor until the loyal negro, everywhere, is intrusted with the ballot, as the acknowledged right of American citizenship, and his own special protection against the execrable hate and intolerance of his late disloyal oppressors.

4. That among the events which have crowded the year, calling for devout gratitude on the part of Christian Abolitionists, none is more significant than the admission to the bar of the U. S. Supreme Court, which is the action of a representative of the race, in regard to which history was so infamously suborned to testify in that very Court but a few years ago, that they had no rights which white men were bound to respect.

5. That in the person of the colored advocate, John S. Rock, of Massachusetts, before the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Taney's impious decision, that negroes could not be held as citizens of the United States, has been virtually revoked. And the judicial crime of such a decision having been expiated in the baptism of blood through which the nation has since passed, it may now be hoped that Divine Justice will be satisfied; and that the first Representative of the colored race before the National Tribunal of Justice will prove a ROCK not of offence but of defence to the freedom of his race, the liberties of his country, and the rights of mankind.

6. Resolved, Finally, That we stand in solemn and adoring awe of Almighty God, who has suffered the late expiring act of slavery (while putting a nation to grief for the honored dead), to reveal to the world its own inherent baseness as well as that of the malignant rebellion naturally born of it, and its just desert of the felon's doom. And we do now but express the plain requisition of Christianity, as well as the only safe policy for the nation, in requiring from our National Government the exaction of the right of suffrage for the entire body of loyal freedmen, in all the States lately in rebellion; so that there may be secured to the people of those States a Republican form of government, and the EQUALITY OF ALL MEN BEFORE THE LAW.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

We print below an extract from a very interesting letter. The writer is one of the shrewdest, most trustworthy, and unprejudiced of observers. His official position has given him excellent opportunity to judge of the sentiment prevailing in South Carolina. We commend his testimony to our readers as eminently worthy of attention.

SOUTH CAROLINA, May 30, 1865.

To WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.—My very dear Friend: The war is over, and I am getting ready to return home. Whether the regiment will be mustered out before the expiring of its term or not I cannot say; but the majority of the officers will leave as soon as possible.

On the 14th of next month I shall have served three years. My date of muster is July 3d, on which day I expect to leave.

I have travelled through a considerable portion of South Carolina, particularly the section South of Santee river; have talked with all ranks and conditions of men and women; and have arrived at the conclusion that the number of loyal white persons is infinitesimally small. I have only met with two, and one of these was rather doubtful. They are subdued, not convinced or converted. The only genuine friends of the United States are the blacks, with a very few exceptions.

The majority are satisfied that further fighting is useless. "You are the conquerors," they say; "we are the conquered, and must submit to your terms."

The degree of ignorance which prevails among all classes is scarcely credible. The illiterate and ill-learned are eagerly believed, even by educated folks. Nearly every one thinks that slavery might be restored, if they keep quiet—the Copperheads will manage that for them. They believe that we are about to assume the Confederate debt, in part, by stamping their rebel rags with a United States stamp of a lower denomination! Dr. Harrold, an Episcopal priest (and an intelligent man, too), asked me if the North would not be willing to establish a system of apprenticeship for the negroes! To a man they think that that doubly-dyed villain Robert E. Lee, will get his old position in our regular army; and that the old hoary villains of politicians will resume their seats, and recommence their old practice of torturing the body politic.

But the negroes are by far the worst. They still believe that Jeff. Davis will come out right side up somehow; they "love that grey uniform"; they ask "what the United States flag is like?" and we are educating them in this respect by suspending it in festoons over every door, so that they are obliged to walk under the hated symbol when they come to beg for rations or transportation. Next to the women in virulence are the officers, the "Majors," and "Colonels," and "Generals," who flaunt about the streets in full rebel uniform—everything except the sword! Gen. ——— had a talk with one "Gen." Lovell the other day, and he came down from Columbia to Orangeburg in full dress, with his "staff" ditto. It is a grand mistake to suppose that such persons will be conciliated by allowing them to play such pranks; and it might be worth while to inquire whether the feelings of honest Union soldiers should not be taken into account. The rank and file are heartily tired of the war, and conduct themselves with more propriety than any other class of the natives.

I have been engaged in visiting plantations, at the owners' request, with a view to assist in making labor contracts with their former slaves. A Commission has now been appointed for that purpose, and I am heartily glad of it; for a more disagreeable task I never undertook before. There is but one remedy for the South—viz: colonization by means of immigrants from the North and from Europe, with the right of suffrage granted to all who can read and write, irrespective of color.

I remain, my dear friend,

Yours ever,

The following extracts from another private letter just received from Charleston, are entitled to the fullest belief—the writer being a calm and competent on-looker upon the general condition of affairs in that State:

"I think this rebellious spirit might have been crushed out, or at least kept at bay, had the proper influences been exerted by the ruling powers. But there has been too much trucking; too much conciliation; too much downright sympathy manifested on the part of officials toward the bitter, disloyal class; and too much disregard for, and bitter contempt toward the blacks, the only loyal element found in this accursed hot-bed of treason."

"I have seen men compelled to optend, even fiercely, against not only the native abettors of treason and disloyalty, but against the military, who have been the pretended defence and protection of the loyal and helpless."

"Peaceable colored citizens



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